601 *gadim* (also *gadin*): relatives in law having a different clan name; wife's family in relation to husband's, or husband's family in relation to wife's. *Cf.* Mongol *qadum, qadam;* Ordos *khadam.*

k'adzi: elder sister. *Cf.* Mongol *egeci,* Ordos *egetshi. K'adzi diu,* elder and younger sisters; sisters in general.

khulo: far, distant, remote. *Cf.* Mongol *qola,* Ordos *kholo.*

k'ũ: son, boy. *Cf.* Mongol *köbegün,* Ordos *k'ũ.*

k'urgen: son-in-law. *Cf.* Mongol *kürgen,* Ordos *k'urgen.*

mula: little, younger, etc. *Cf.* Mongol *miltagar,* flattened.

nagẽ: maternal uncle. *Cf.* Mongol *nagai,* Ordos *nagä.*

ndãni: genitive plural of the first person.

sge: great, honorable, etc. *Cf.* Mongol *yeke,* Ordos *ikhe.*

sundze (written *sun dze* in text, above): grandson. *Cf.* Chinese *sun-tze.*[1a]

NUCLEAR AND EXTENDED FAMILY

•594 It must not be thought however that children are unable to distinguish between their actual parents and their "classificatory" parents in the extended family. The mother and father and their own children form a well defined "nuclear" family within the extended family. Some authors, in their efforts to stress the importance of the classificatory system, neglect this fact which is obvious to an observer living in actual contact with such a society.[1] The identity of the nuclear family is emphasized by the fact that it has its own room within the quarters of the extended family, and personal possessions, like clothes and the children's toys, are all kept in this room. A mother sews all the clothes and shoes for her own children. After the main meal of the day, eaten in common with the rest of the extended family, each nuclear family returns to its own room. Parents correct and punish their own children, and it is good reason for a quarrel if anybody else dares to punish them. If a child is sick, it calls for its own mother and sleeps beside her. If there is something wrong with the conduct of a woman, the grandfather calls her husband and tells him to discipline his wife and to beat her if need be. Thus the head of the family sets the standard of discipline, but it is the husband who actually exercises discipline. Conversely, if a woman has trouble with other women, she seeks the support of her husband.

603 When a granddaughter is to be married, the grandfather first consults her father and mother before taking action, in his capacity as head of the family, to arrange a match with another family. When such materials as cloth for the making of clothes are to be distributed, it

[1a] For these terms, compare David F. Aberle, *The kinship system of the Kalmuk Mongols,* Univ. of New Mexico Publications in Anthropology, 8. Albuquerque, N. M., Univ. New Mexico Press, 1953, one of the studies completed under the program of Mongol studies at the Johns Hopkins University.

[1] See, for example, M. Granet, *La civilisation chinoise* 1: 185. Paris, La renaissance du livre, 1929.

[p. 85-6]

N *563 586 the father invariably keeps the sons, but a daughter sometimes goes with her mother.

VI. The Mongours

M • 594 596 [611] [591]

A. The Family Organization

Schram describes the typical Mongour family as being "patrilineal, extended and patrilocal". The extended family is composed of a number of closely related nuclear families. A nuclear family consists of a man, his wife and their unmarried offspring. The extended family is usually headed by the grandfather, or the great-grandfather, if he is alive; his wife, his sons, and, if they are married, their wives and children compose the rest of the family. In the richer families, occasionally the concubine, or concubines, and their offspring also belong to the extended family.

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M [556]

M [361]

The extended family has a common courtyard, around which the separate dwellings of the nuclear families are grouped. The property is owned by the group as a whole, but the head of the family has the most authority over it. The common kitchen, hearth and chimney symbolize the unity of the extended family. This fact is often expressed in Mongour sayings like "our family has only one chimney," or "we all eat out of one cooking-cauldron." Thus, the breakdown of an extended family is symbolized by one of its nuclear families setting up its own kitchen and beginning to cook its own food. Within the extended family, the nuclear families are well defined. The identity of the nuclear family is emphasized by the fact that it has its own room within the quarters of the extended family. In it are kept some personal possessions, like clothing. After eating the main meal of the day with the rest of the extended family, each nuclear family returns to its own room.

M [182] [252]

M [342]

M [364] [342]

The family head is the religious chief, family administrator and family representative in dealing with higher authorities. Each spring, on the occasion of the ceremony venerating the ancestors, he represents the family in general meetings of the clan. Nor are his duties confined to the family religious rites. As head of a family, he also is required to attend shamanistic ceremonies in the village temple. Even more important are his economic duties and responsibilities. He has control over all the community property belonging to the extended family, and any money due any of its individual members is deposited with him. He is the one who decides how this money is to be spent. He also handles all the important economic transactions of the family, such as buying and selling cattle and grain. Moreover, the family head directs and supervises the ordinary tasks of cattle breeding and cultivating the fields, and assigns members of the family to their daily duties. He also enjoys a certain authority over the private matters of the individuals; e.g., he makes the arrangements for marriage and funerals, and

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M 592 554 [769]